

"Votes for Women," June 18, 1915.

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## *The War Paper for Women*

# VOTES FOR WOMEN

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE UNITED SUFFRAGISTS

VOL. VIII. (Third Series), No. 380.

FRIDAY, JUNE 18, 1915.

Price 1d. Weekly (<sup>Post Free</sup>  
1d.)

## WHICH IS STATESMANSHIP?



June 5, 1915: In Denmark, the Royal assent was given to the New Constitutional Law bestowing the Franchise on women, "with the determination to secure national unity in the face of the European crisis."

June 10, 1915: In our House of Commons, when asked to consider Denmark's example, "in view of the greater need for such a law in this country," Mr. Asquith replied that this was a highly controversial question, and could not be dealt with at the present time.

# UNITED SUFFRAGISTS

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## THE CAMPAIGN

### Indoor Meetings

THURSDAY, JUNE 17; 3 to 5 p.m.—PUBLIC MEETING.—SMALL PORTMAN ROOMS, BAKER STREET, W. SPEAKERS: MR. LAURENCE HOUSMAN, MISS E. S. ROBBIE, CHAIR: MRS. AYRTON GOULD. MRS. PETHICK LAWRENCE WILL LEAD THE DISCUSSION. ADMISSION FREE.

Friday, June 18; 3.30 p.m.—Lecture 3, on "The Theory and Practice of Politics in England To-Day," by Mr. John Scurr.—The Suffrage Club, York Street, St. James's, S.W. Chair: Mrs. Elaine Whelen.

Friday, June 18; 8 p.m.—Public Meeting.—Onward Buildings, Deansgate, Manchester. Speakers: Miss Mary Richardson and the Rev. Leigh L. Orton. Chair: Mrs. Forrester. Admission Free. Tickets 1s. and 6d.

Friday, June 18; 3 p.m.—Working Party.—"Braemar," Chorley Wood. Hostess: Mrs. Clough.

Saturday, June 19; 3.30 p.m.—Reception.—Clarion Café, Lord Street, Liverpool. Speaker: Miss Mary Richardson. Chair: John Edwards, Esq.

Tuesday, June 22; 8 p.m.—Open Meeting.—U.S. Women's Club. Speaker: Mrs. McLeod.

Thursday, June 24; 3 to 5 p.m.—PUBLIC MEETING.—SMALL PORTMAN ROOMS. (See notice on this page.)

Friday, July 2; At Home.—Onward Buildings Deansgate, Manchester. Address by Mr. J. Beanland on "The Widening Issues."

Friday, July 9; 8 p.m.—At Home.—2, Crossfield Road, Hampstead. Hostess: Madame Godfrey. Speaker: Mrs. Ayrton Gould.

### Outdoor Meetings

Friday, June 18; 8 p.m.—Magna Charta Demonstration (in conjunction with other societies).—Clayton Square, Liverpool.

Friday, June 18; 8 p.m.—Corner of Skipton Street, London Road. Speaker: Mrs. M. E. Davies.

Sunday, June 20; 3.30 p.m.—Streatham Common. Speaker: Miss A. Somers.

Tuesday, June 22; 3.30 p.m.—Corner of Webber Street, New Cut. Speaker: Mrs. Ayrton Gould.

Wednesday, June 23; 7.30 p.m.—Corner of Sydney Street, Manchester.

Thursday, June 24; 8 p.m.—Corner of Oakley Place, Old Kent Road. Speaker: Miss M. Sennett.

### SOUTH LONDON

Organiser, Miss M. Phillips, 92, Borough Road, S.E.

Oakley Place, the new pitch in Old Kent Road, gave very good results last week. A noisy but friendly escort of small boys went home with the speakers, but it was left to two little girls to ask shyly if they might help by carrying the platform. The offer was accepted—as gladly as Denmark has accepted the women's ever-ready help in bearing her national responsibilities.

Mrs. McLeod, who is speaking next week at the Club, has just returned from several months' Red Cross work at the front, and everybody is looking forward to hearing her.

Those who are not members of the Club are reminded that these Tuesday night Suffrage meetings (see Campaign) are open to all-comers.

### U.S. WOMEN'S CLUB

Secretary, Miss M. R. Cochrane, 92, Borough Road, S.E.

We did not have our usual weekly Suffrage meeting on account of the meeting at the Kingsway Hall, which was attended by many of our members. We have now started a military drill class, which Miss Richards very kindly takes every Friday night. Not only do the girls enjoy it, but it is just what they want, as most of them have been sitting at their work all day. On Wednesdays Miss Williams is coming to us to teach dancing, especially old English dances, and we hope to start a dramatic club. We are very keen that the dancing and gymnastic classes shall have special drill dresses. The girls will help towards the expense, but they cannot cover it. We shall be so very grateful if some of our readers will help us towards it. We also want some glasses. Now that the summer has come we have added lemonade to our refresh-

ments, and somehow it does not taste so nice out of a cup.

We wish to thank Miss Garms for a cake, Mrs. Harben for butter and flowers, and Miss Fox for 2s.

### LIVERPOOL U.S.

Hon. Sec., Miss Isabel Buxton, 111, Queen's Road

We are joining forces with other Suffrage societies for Magna Charta demonstration at Clayton Square, Friday, 18th, 8 p.m. Will United Suffragists turn up in good numbers and sell the paper? Miss Keefe (L.L.C.M.) has promised us some musical items for our reception at the Clarion Café. (See Campaign.)

### MANCHESTER U.S.

Hon. Sec., Miss Hope Hampson, "Trevena," Bowden

Mr. F. Merrick was again the speaker at Sydney Street last Wednesday, where quite a good meeting was held. It has been decided to hold an out-door meeting on June 17, with Miss Mary Richardson as speaker, at Alexandra Park Gates, and another at a factory during the dinner-hour on June 18. Paper-sellers report rather better sales this week.

### STREATHAM U.S.

Hon. Sec., Mrs. Gregory, 6, Gibson's Hill, West Norwood

Streatham Common, on which Sunday afternoon meetings have been proceeding successfully but uneventfully, has now distinguished itself by producing a really (though unintentionally) helpful heckler. One who thinks no condemnation too strong for the militant women's disrespect for property, and yet is rather a jingo than a pacifist with regard to the present war.

## NEXT WEEKLY MEETING

### PORTMAN ROOMS

(BAKER STREET, W.)

ON  
Thursday, June 24th

from 3 to 5 p.m.

### SPEAKERS:

**MRS. JOHN SCURR**

on How the Industrial Position of Women is Affected by the War,

**MISS MADELINE DOTY**

(Prison Commissioner of New York State),

**AND OTHERS.**

CHAIR:

**MRS. PETHICK LAWRENCE**

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## UNITED SUFFRAGISTS

**OBJECT:**—To secure a Government measure to give women the Vote on equal terms with men.

The United Suffragists—

(1) Believe that men and women can usefully co-operate on equal terms in one organisation for the enfranchisement of women.

(2) Regard Woman Suffrage as the foremost political issue of the day, and will work without considering the interests of any political party.

(3) Recognise various forms of suffrage activity as of value, and are ready to contribute any kind of service according to their capacity and conviction.

There is no fixed subscription or entrance fee, but members are relied upon to support the Society to the best of their ability.

Membership is open to everyone who endorses the object of this Society, irrespective of membership of any other Society, militant or non-militant.

## IMPORTANT ANNOUNCEMENT

War conditions make it essential for the United Suffragists to economise in every possible way. We are, therefore, giving up our present offices at 3, ADAM STREET, and moving to the offices of "Votes for Women" at 4-7, RED LION COURT, FLEET STREET, where all calls and communications should be addressed on and after Monday, June 28.

## THE FASHION FOR PETTICOATS

Owing to the remarkable change of fashion that has recently taken place, Underskirts have again become an absolute necessity. We have now in stock a very large variety of dainty and inexpensive Petticoats, all cut in the new full shape.



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## DEDICATION

To the brave women who to-day are fighting for freedom: to the noble women who all down the ages kept the flag flying and looked forward to this day without seeing it: to all women all over the world, of whatever race, or creed, or calling, whether they be with us or against us in this fight, we dedicate this paper

## THE OUTLOOK

## Women and Parliament

By questions to the Prime Minister on Thursday of last week, Mr. Ginnell raised points of vital importance to our cause. He asked (1) "Whether, with a view to making available the country's intellectual as well as material resources, and at the same time opening a new, suitable, and long-needed sphere of activity for capable women, the Prime Minister had considered the advisability of opening the two branches of the legal profession to women duly qualified"; and (2) he asked "whether, in view of the enactment in Denmark of a new Constitutional Law giving the Parliamentary franchise to women on the same terms as to men, and the greater need for such a law in this country at the present time, he would have the introduction of legislation on this subject at an early date considered by the Coalition Government."

Mr. Asquith said in reply that "these were both highly controversial questions which could not be dealt with at the present time." As to controversy, we would remind the Prime Minister that his Ministry of Munitions Bill was so highly controversial that his Government was compelled completely to change its character. As to the present time, we would remind him that Denmark chose the present time for her splendid act of justice simply in order to secure a true national unity in the face of danger.

## Mr. Asquith on Peace

After receiving this reply, Mr. Ginnell next asked the Prime Minister (1) "Whether it was with his sanction that the advocacy of peace was being treated as an offence under the Defence of the Realm Act; and (2), seeing that the majority of Englishwomen desire the termination of the present waste of human life, and that they have no votes in the election of Members, whether he would consent to receive a deputation from them and to give an early opportunity for debating the subject."

Mr. Asquith's reply should be laid to heart and carefully remembered, especially by those perverted natures who always stand waiting to raise the silly cry of "Unpatriotic!" or "Pro-German!" against everyone who looks for some solution by which peace may be restored. "So far as I am aware," said the Prime Minister, "the advocacy of peace has not been and cannot be treated as an offence under the Act."

As to the request for a deputation from women, Mr. Asquith said he did not see sufficient reason for it, because "he believed the desire that the war may lead to an honourable and lasting peace was shared by all classes without distinction of sex." We believe that also. We are convinced that only very few men or women of any class wish the war to continue as "a perpetual Chamber of Horrors." But that is no reason at all why women should be excluded from a constitutional expression of the common desire.

## The Overwork Scandal

We are glad to see that the Home Office maintains its position in regard to the scandalous overwork of a girl at Leeds, whose case was brought before our readers in this paper a few weeks ago. It will be remembered that the girl was kept at work for over twenty-four hours; the Home Office prosecuted the employers, and the magistrate dismissed the case. In defence of the employers and magistrate alike, Mr. Butcher, M.P. for York, pleaded in the House last week that the offence was trifling. Whereupon he was sharply told by Mr. Brace, Under-Secretary for the Home Office, that he had been very seriously misinformed.

"The case," said Mr. Brace, "was not one of slight overtime. Women and young persons had been worked through the whole of Friday and Friday night up to mid-day on Saturday, and were brought in again, also illegally, on Sunday and worked from six in the morning to five in the evening. Such hours not only inflict great hardship on the workers, but diminish their efficiency." In answer to a further question as to the dismissal of the summons, Mr. Brace observed, "We cannot help it if the magistrates make a mistake." Yet we believe the appointment and dismissal of stipendiary magistrates rest with the Home Office.

## Another Insult Exposed

When anything goes wrong, the instinct of some people is to follow Adam's example, and throw all the blame on the woman. To stem drunkenness at the beginning of the war special regulations were laid upon the sex which is universally the more sober. Then an outcry was raised about "war babies," and we were told of "abandoned women" and "giddy girls" swarming round the camps. We were threatened with a perfect deluge of illegitimate babies. Statistics were freely given. In various towns and villages the future increase was reckoned by hundreds and thousands. Members of Parliament worked themselves up into a state of sympathetic gush about those prospective infants. And now it turns out that the whole affair was little better than a myth, a libel, or a lie. The rate of illegitimate births is likely to be very little, if at all, higher than usual. That is the conclusion of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children. It is also the conclusion of Mr. James Merchant, who writes with authority in the *Review of Reviews*: "Most of the so-called war babies," he says, "would probably have been born had there been no war." And so these dream-children, an imagined result of "feminine hysteria," pass into limbo together with the "Russian troops" which excited patriots used to detect in battalions upon our railways.

## How to Save!

Speaking of the "Food Bill" and "How to Save Money in the Household," an ingenious writer in the *Times* recently observed:—

The women of England have a great opportunity just at present, and their success or failure may easily mean the difference between millions of pounds saved to the country or millions lost per annum, for it is not to be forgotten that the saving of even £2 a year by every person in the country means a total saving of about £90,000,000. That sounds a very magnificent sum, but we must remember the £2 a year must be saved by every baby and child, as well as by every man and woman, to make it up. Let us take the case of a widow with six children—not an uncommon case, after all. She must save £14 a year to contribute her share to the £90,000,000. Suppose she is working for the Government at the rates mentioned by the Workers' National Committee in their recent report upon Government sweating, namely, 2s. 6d. per dozen for sailors' shirts (worker finding cotton); 1d. each for soldiers' beds; or 1d. an hour for bed

cushions, and 4d. each for coats. Or suppose, in accordance with the revelations of the Liverpool Anti-Sweating League, she is working for a Government sub-contractor at making khaki uniforms for twelve hours a day and six on Saturday at a wage of 5s. 6d. or 6s. a week. Where does the ingenious writer in the *Times* think her power of saving £14 a year (nearly 5s. 6d. a week) comes in?

## Mr. Sheehy Skeffington

An editorial note in this week's *Nation* observes: "An Irish writer has been sent to prison for six months for making statements prejudicial to recruiting. Yet the most powerful newspaper proprietor in this country has used all the resources at his disposal to discourage recruiting with absolute impunity. Surely this kind of inequality in our justice goes far to explain the suspicion with which the people are apt to regard governments."

We can have no doubt that the Irish writer referred to is Mr. Sheehy Skeffington, editor of the *Irish Citizen*. Charged, under Section 27 of the Defence of the Realm Act, with making "statements likely to be prejudicial to recruiting" in a speech at Beresford Place, in Dublin, he was refused a trial by jury, or even by court-martial. When brought before the magistrate, he pleaded that he was prosecuted, not for attacks upon recruiting, but for attacks upon conscription. He was sentenced, not merely to six months' hard labour, but to a further six months (*i.e.*, one year in all) unless he found bail for £50, and Mr. Skeffington is not the man to ask for such bail, which in Ireland is equivalent to being "bound over." Refused treatment as a political prisoner, he adopted the hunger-strike, and as we go to press we hear that he has been released "owing to his health being impaired from the effects" of this strike.

We agree with the *Nation* in condemning "this kind of inequality in our justice," and, in so far as he has suffered under it, we extend our sympathy to Mr. Skeffington, who, together with Mrs. Skeffington, has always been a true supporter of the Suffrage cause.

## A Derby Day Memory

Last Sunday a memorial service was held in St. Philip's Church, Newcastle, in honour of Emily Wilding Davison, who was mortally injured on the Epsom racecourse two years ago, when she stopped one of the horses with a view to raising a protest against the Government's treatment of Suffragists and their cause. Many well-known Suffragists also visited her grave at Morpeth and placed wreaths upon it.

## Items of Interest

In answer to Sir William Byles, Captain Pretyman stated in the House of Commons last week that, up to June 4, 78,946 women had placed their names on the War Service Register, but only 1,816 had been employed. He mentioned, however, that several of these applicants had also enrolled themselves on the ordinary Labour Exchange registers, and there had been a large increase (39 per cent.) during May, compared with May last year, of women finding employment through these exchanges.

At an inquest in Westminster upon a soldier's wife, who had committed suicide, Mr. Ingleby Oddie, the coroner, commented upon the very large number of such suicides that have lately occurred. He said he "could understand the wives being upset, but, after all, the men were doing their duty." A day or two before a correspondent in the *Times* told of a soldier's wife who exclaimed: "A pound a week and no husband! Why, it's like heaven!" And she tried to make readers think that cheerful remark was characteristic of soldiers' wives in general!

Articles and News contributed for insertion in *VOTES FOR WOMEN* should be sent to The Editors, *VOTES FOR WOMEN*, 47, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C., at the earliest possible date, and in no case later than first post Monday morning prior to the publication of the paper.

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The paper can be obtained from all newsagents and bookstalls. In New York, at Brentano's; Messrs. Thacker, Spink, and Co., Calcutta; and at Handel House, Ltd., Eloff Street, Johannesburg.

For quotations for Advertisements, apply to the Advertisement Manager, *VOTES FOR WOMEN*, 47, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

## THE MYSTICISM OF WAR

Miss MURIEL MATTER will deal with this subject at the Fourth of the FRIENDS' CONSTRUCTIVE MEETINGS ON PEACE, at DEVONSHIRE HOUSE, 136, BISHOPSGATE, E.C., at 6.30 p.m.

On WEDNESDAY, JUNE 23. Questions Invited.

## THE WOMAN'S THEATRE. WAR RELIEF MATINEES.

LONDON PAVILION, PICCADILLY CIRCUS.

In aid of the following Funds:

Monday, June 21.—The "Era" War Distress Fund.  
Tuesday, June 22.—The Women's Emergency Corps.  
Thursday, June 24.—Serbian Relief and Red Cross Fund.  
Friday, June 25.—Disabled Soldiers and Sailors (Lord Roberts' Fund).

All-Star Programmes include Forbes-Robertson, Lewis Waller, George Robey, Albert Whelan, Lilian Braithwaite, Cecilia Loftus, Marie Dainton, Lady Tree, Margaret Cooper, Mary Moore, Eva Moore, Elsie Janis, &c., &c.  
West End Prices. Box Office 11-4 at 2, Robert Street, Adelphi (Phone: City 1214), and usual Agents.

Book your seats now and support four Patriotic Funds.

## INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S FRANCHISE CLUB, 2, GRAFTON STREET, PICCADILLY, W.

### FOR MEN AND WOMEN

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Subscription: 1 Guinea per annum, from date of entrance. (Ireland, Scotland and Foreign Members, 10s. 6d.) June 23, at 8 p.m., Prof. E. J. Urwick, on "Spending in War Time." Chair: Mr. J. V. Kennedy. Valuable Feminist Library Free to Members. (Non-Members, 5s. 6d. per annum.)

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FRIDAY, JUNE 18, 1915

## THE CASUALTIES AT HOME

The publication last week of the Registrar-General's report has concentrated public attention on a problem from which, in a really civilised and enlightened age, public attention would never have been diverted—the problem of how best to care for the health of expectant and nursing mothers, and to preserve the lives of infants. The facts of infant mortality are sufficiently appalling in times of peace. Roughly speaking, of every eight children born, one dies before it is twelve months old, and most of these deaths are unnecessary. We are steadily, year in and year out, wasting, destroying, slaughtering nearly a hundred thousand babies annually because we refuse to take the steps necessary for their preservation. In a community where the mothers of the race, where those who bear the pain and danger of bringing into the world these unhappy children, have no status and no political rights; in a community where the legislators are responsible to men only, the fact is (and even in such a community it seems an astonishing fact) that this annual casualty list has been accepted with indifference, with a stony silence, with at best a deprecatory lift of the eyebrows, by those whose elementary duty it was to save the children's lives. We do not pretend that legislation, even if coupled with able and sympathetic administration, could have done everything. It would not have saved all the children; but it could have saved most of them.

What people will not learn in the quiet, they have to learn in the storm. When there was no war, no pouring out of millions of pounds daily, no fear of an imminent shortage of human life in England, politicians had not time to deal with the wastage of child life; now, almost amid the very noise of the engines of destruction, they have found the time. The war figures are even more hideous than the peace figures. In London the infantile mortality is greater by 200 a week than in peace time, and the death-rate of children is rising all over the country. At last our Governors have noticed! At last something is to be done! And what? In the first place, the Notification of Births Act is to be made compulsory. Mr. Walter Long has explained that he anticipates no opposition in the House of Commons to this simple and necessary reform. We may well ask why in that case the Act has not been made compulsory long ago? That it would have been if woman had possessed votes is undeniable; that it would have saved many thousands of lives is equally undeniable—so the blood of the State has been drawn away for the mere sake of prolonging a gross national injustice. Anti-Suffragist Ministers have bought whatever satisfaction the suppression of women may have been to them by spending the very life-blood of the nation. Another reform foreshadowed is the enlarging of the powers of local authorities to deal with the care of mothers and infants. So far, so good; but all this is only a beginning.

A palliation of the existing horrors, which is

widely advocated and to some small extent practised, is what is called the "education of the mother." All education is good, and the science of infant management has doubtless much in it that can be taught, in the way of hygiene especially; but the difficulty is that there is often an element of impertinence in the attempt to teach poor women what they *ought* to do, instead of giving them the *chance* to do what they *want* to do. What is it but an insult to instruct in hygienic detail a mother who knows that what is killing her child is nothing more nor less than the poverty of the conditions into which the child is born? Lady Seeley, in an unpleasant letter to the *Times*, declares it is a mistake to suppose that women of the working class feel the burden of the war! Who in God's name does feel it if not the families who are being pinched and harried with the rise in the cost of living? How do Lady Seeley and her like account for the increase in the babies' death-rate? "A considerable number of babies' deaths," she says, "are due to the mothers' neglect." But even she will scarcely maintain that this cause has increased since the war began, so it can scarcely account for the increased result. And what, after all, is the truth about this alleged neglect? There are bad mothers, a few, among the poor as among the rich, but to say that poor women *as such* neglect their children is a cruel and an ignorant and a foolish calumny. Poor women put up on their children's behalf, against every form of social oppression and economic injustice, a battle so heroic that it should leave no one unamazed—particularly no one who, by being an Anti-Suffragist, is meanly insisting on poor women fighting without that weapon of the vote which would make the fight a little fairer. What poor mothers want (and most mothers are poor) is less poverty and more opportunity—not smug sermons on the utilisation of opportunities which they have never had.

That owing to separation allowances some women are better off than before is obvious (what a comment on our economic conditions in peace!). But that cannot conceivably apply to more than two millions (of course it does not in actual fact apply to anything approaching such a number), and already even in peace time we had nearly seven million women engaged in industry alone. Separation allowances will not solve the problem of infant mortality, if only for the reason that they are often paid to wives suffering from the bitterest personal anxiety, an anxiety which itself accounts for innumerable losses of infant life. Nor again will this or that item of legislation, however admirable and however long overdue. What is the good of spending a little money here and there to alleviate the dangers of maternity, when those dangers are themselves largely produced by shameful public conditions?—conditions which keep women in a state of economic subservience, and debar them from any voice in the readjustment of wages or of status by legislation. What does Mr. Walter Long, with all his amiable intentions, know about the difficulties a poor mother has to face; what is his knowledge in comparison with the knowledge that the poor mother possesses? Yet she is to wait upon the pleasure of men as ignorant as Mr. Long for the simplest amelioration of her lot, and her infinite sufferings and services on behalf of the State are to go unrecognized. The education that women need is that education in citizenship which comes with the possession of a vote, and the only legislation which will touch the root-causes of infant mortality is the legislation that women will pass when they have the vote; for, in the nature of things, they and they only know the difficulties that must be met.

# FOR A BETTER WORLD

The Woman's Movement in its Relation to the Present Crisis and the Immediate Future

By EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE

(The Speech delivered in the Kingsway Hall on June 8, continued from our last number)

Great services are being rendered to the nation and to the army at the present time by women, but no service, I am convinced, would be more absolutely acceptable to a very large number of young men now at the front than fearless thinking and speaking by women upon the question of war in relation to the altered condition of the modern world. I spoke of women's unique position in regard to this matter; I should like to speak also of their unique opportunity. Even in a time of war the movements and actions of women are much less trammelled than those of men. They can get into other countries and speak with women of other nationalities in a way that it would be impossible for men to do. They can speak openly without incurring the charge of cowardice. Everyone knows that the most dangerous vocation in times of peace is the vocation of motherhood. That fact was recognized many centuries ago by Euripides when he placed the memorable phrase in the mouth of Medea, "Sooner would I stand three times to face their battles, shield in hand, than bear one child." So long as the collective motherhood of the world undertakes this task of re-peopling the planet, not even the bravest man would dare lay the indictment of cowardice to the account of women.

Women must remember, however, that they cannot speak with real effect until they speak through the ballot-box. Certainly, each individual, by being true to her moral convictions, can do something by public and private speech to influence the formation of public opinion. But that is not enough. They cannot make this public opinion effective until they can organise it and bring it to bear upon the Governments in the form of political pressure. The point of view which regards human life as sacred is shared by large sections of men to-day, especially by those men whose interests are concerned with human beings—such, for instance, as doctors, teachers, and ministers of religion; but it is fundamentally the point of view that is natural to women, and until politicians have to reckon with the woman's vote we cannot hope that it will become the point of view of the majority of people in this country. The immediate crisis in human affairs is a challenge such as has never occurred in the lifetime of any one of us to the Woman's Movement to assert itself and to win political power.

#### Now is the Time

Now is the time above every other time for women to organise and take action to gain their enfranchisement. We realise to-day as never before that we have been criminally weak in allowing our demand to be put aside for any reason whatsoever. To imagine that it is either right or expedient at this moment to put women's claim to enfranchisement in abeyance is the limit of foolishness. With all my heart, therefore, I second the resolution before the meeting to-night, which, realising the gravity of the present crisis, calls upon the Coalition Government immediately to recognize the citizenship of women, and thus to raise out of the present tragedy and destruction something that will help to construct a better world.

Important questions are arising every week with regard to the changing status of women. Regular weekly meetings of women bringing destructive and constructive criticism on the changing conditions of women's labour are

essential in these days of quick transition as never before. Issues are pending concerning the personal liberties of voteless women. Other questions affecting the future of the children are making insistent demand upon the consideration of the Woman's Movement. An article on infant mortality published in the *Daily Mail* yesterday (June 7), and one on the same lines published in the *Times* to-day, should give the women of the country serious matter for their consideration, and should stimulate them to renew their demand for enfranchisement. We are warned that the rate of infant mortality since war began has gone up by leaps and bounds. The article in the *Times* states that the death rate per week in London for infants in excess of the rate that has prevailed during recent years is 200 per week. According to the *Times*, this same proportion prevails all over the country. If that is true, it means that the death rate of infants has gone up in excess of the normal rate to a thousand a week (for, roughly speaking, London represents one-fifth of the population). If this figure is approximately correct, it means a death rate of something like 50,000 a year. The normal death rate stands at a figure of about 100,000 infants a year; that is bad enough. The war threatens us with a death rate of 150,000 a year, an increase, that is to say, of 50 per cent. This fact alone is a call to the women of the country, and should be an irresistible appeal to all practical politicians of the present time who have any sense of real patriotism.

#### Children as Ammunition!

But the *Daily Mail* supplies yet another very serious warning to women. The *Daily Mail* goes further than the *Times*. It does not suggest that an effort should be made to save the babies from humane reasons alone, or because the wealth of the nation in times of peace lies in the health of its rising generation. The idea that this war is the last war and will end militarism is frankly flung aside. We are told that "we must see to it that the utmost care shall be given to the children who, twenty years hence, may have to repel another German attack." Many people fear, says the writer of this article, that the eventual peace terms may be such as will enable Germans afterwards to single out their enemies, and particularly England. "For this, if for no other reasons, women who are looking for war work should first see if they cannot do something to cherish the children. Shells and machine guns are the principal munitions of the present war, but infants are the munitions of the future peace." We know how to translate that sentence. Shells and machine guns were said to be an insurance for peace before war broke out, but to-day they are the munitions of war. The infants of to-day are destined to be the first and chief munitions of the war which the *Daily Mail* sees as a possibility twenty years hence.

I call upon the collective motherhood of this nation and of the world to contemplate for one moment what this means. No war in the past has ever produced such casualty lists as the present war; no war has ever wrought such destruction; but all this falls into insignificance in comparison with the possibilities presented by the next war. Let submarine craft, air craft, and bomb craft develop during the next twenty years as they have developed in our lifetime, and we can scarcely imagine the wholesale murder and massacre which will ensue. If this thing is to go on, the human race as we know it to-day will be wiped off the surface of the planet. This is the immediate menace to our children and to our children's children. It is essential that women should win the vote now, and that their point of view shall be considered in relation

to the terms of peace which will be made at the conclusion of this war.

#### The Future Hope

The prospect of the immediate future is dark for those who have loved the people and have endeavoured to make a little lighter the many burdens of the poor. However favourably the present war may work out for the Allied Powers, its net result to the democracies of Europe must be terrible impoverishment and loss. I can sympathize with those who feel that the only future for such of us who have dreamed and worked and struggled for social betterment or political liberty is the taking up of the old conflict under conditions infinitely worse than before. I felt like that myself but a few weeks ago. But since my return home I have seen another vision. Lowered physique, debt, straitened conditions—these things there must be for generations to come. Nothing can alter facts or lessen the pity of them. And their ill effects will fall, also, on those who least are responsible for the causes. But in the hearts of men and women, and in little groups of people all over the country I realise a change of outlook and a new apprehension of values, a new sense of the reality and power of spiritual forces as against forces of dead matter. It is only a small thing—the newborn babe of an idea. But it may mean the beginning of a new era in modern human history. It comforts my heart with a promise.

To many minds which have been long under the spell of materialism, the spirit is now speaking through the very destruction of materialism. Some realize the message consciously, and some only very dimly and subconsciously. In varying degrees, many men who have never thought of these things at all are beginning to realise that matter is only held together by spirit, that force prompted by greed or hate or arrogance is disruptive, and that only force inspired by love has any creative possibilities. If a change of heart is really being brought about on these lines, then it means the passing away of the era of masculinism pure and simple, and the beginning of a new era in which force and love, matter and spirit, will be united, and the woman's point of view will be incorporated and made one with the man's point of view. It means the emergence of a new human era. In these altered spiritual conditions it will be easier to work for liberty, for progress, and for the culture of human life. The movement for sweeping away the slaveries and antagonisms of race, class, and sex will not have to encounter the dead wall of uninspired force and materialism that has barricaded the mind of all dominant classes against human liberty and brotherhood.

If this great spiritual compensation is to be wrung out of the human bereavement and material loss of this war, it must be won by the sacrifice and efforts of all, though sacrifice and effort may work on very different planes. As women we must pit ourselves against war like the mother creature who pits herself against forces that threaten the destruction of her young. As warriors of the spirit, we must challenge dead materialism in the name of the spirit. If a new era is indeed to be born of the present destruction, then the flower of the manhood of Europe will have purchased something greater to humanity than victory for the victor, or honour for the vanquished.

Viewed in this light, the hell of war can be discerned as Purgatory. And what we supposed to be the destruction of souls is seen to be the destruction of soullessness. And when the smoke of the fires of the battlefield clears away it may be that we shall see enthroned in the heavens a new vision of life in the symbol of transfigured womanhood, with humanity as the eternal child in her arms.

## WOMEN'S HOSPITAL FOR CHILDREN

The third annual court of the Women's Hospital for Children, 688, Harrow Road, W., was held at the Kensington Town Hall on June 10; it was well attended, and augured that the interest in this little hospital is increasing. But this being war time, there was a difference in this court to the former ones; the stewards, hitherto doctors in their brilliant gowns, were orderlies from the Military Hospital in Endell Street, and the two doctors who spoke, Dr. Louisa Garrett Anderson and Dr. Flora Murray, were also in uniform.

Miss Elizabeth Robins appealed for funds to keep this much-needed hospital open during the ensuing year. She told her audience that the care of the nation's children was more than ever necessary this year, and that if we neglected the future, men and women were playing into the enemy's hands. But her speech was not entirely serious, as anyone who has read her books and heard her suffrage speeches would know. She punctuated her serious reflections with wit, and delighted her audience with the story she told of a little boy, patient whose back was under examination, and who informed the doctors that if they wanted to find his tummy it was on his other side.

Lady Brassey, who presided, called on Lady Hall to speak, who wisely did not make a long speech; indeed, all the speeches were commendably short. Then Dr. Louisa Garrett Anderson rose, and in a short, delicate little address moved the election of

committee. Dr. Flora Murray followed with a resolution amplifying the powers of trustees, but, she told her audience, it was no good their passing unanimously that resolution unless they likewise saw that the trustees and auditor had funds. Mrs. Harold Cox was adopted as auditor, but as she was a woman, her signature was not sufficient for the chartered accountants, but the difficulty was overcome by appending her husband's signature. Dr. Flora Murray went on to say that she regarded the Harrow Road hospital as a daughter to the Women's Hospital, and the Military Hospital as the grand-daughter. She likened the three to the Mother Country and the Colonies, though the "colony" in this case, like reality, could accommodate the Mother Country comfortably within its walls. She added whimsically that she did not think the soldiers would mind being regarded as a branch of a children's hospital.

But the important subject of finance could not be kept out of her speech, and she humorously described the woman's business method versus the man's. She told her audience frankly that Dr. Garrett Anderson and herself would never have gone to France if they had not known that the Children's Hospital had sufficient funds for this year, but her appeal was for next year, and this was where woman's business methods differed from man's. It is sincerely to be hoped that women will not let this children's hospital languish for want of proper and adequate support. Contributions can be sent to the Hon. Treasurer, Mrs. Garrett Anderson, 688, Harrow Road, W., and visitors are always welcome to see the hospital in working order.

### GOOD NEWS FOR MOTHERS \*

Mrs. Rion is an enthusiastic advocate of scopolamine-morphine for childbirth. Scopolamine (the active principle of henbane) is not a new drug. For a long time it has been used successfully by oculists and alienists and in general surgery; but the first experiment with it in midwifery was by Steinbüchel (an Austrian) in 1903. However, women owe most gratitude to the patient and skilful experimentation of Dr. Carl Gauss, who, under the supervision of his chief, Dr. Krönig, at the famous Freiburg Frauenklinik, perfected the method now known as the Gauss Twilight Sleep (Dämmerschlaf).

Mrs. Rion gives an honest account of, and I think a satisfactory answer to, all the opposition that the new method has aroused. Many remarkable testimonies to the efficacy of scopolamine-morphine are included, and that of the Edinburgh Professor of Midwifery, Sir John Halliday Croom, sounds the note of complete conviction. Writing in February, 1915, he says: "Ever since its first introduction (1908) I have used it regularly in every private case under my care, rendering the whole process a dream, and without the slightest bad effects to the mother or the child. . . . My confidence in its effect has increased year by year. . . . The patient's enthusiasm over the drug is wonderful."

The effect of scopolamine is to interrupt mental associations, and the claims made by its advocates are enough to justify any woman who dreads the process of childbirth in demanding it of her doctor. There is produced a great alleviation of pain without disagreeable secondary effects on mother or child, a natural muscular action, hardly any memory of the process, and no nervous sequelæ. I think Mrs. Rion proves her case that lack of success is invariably due to faulty technique, especially to an incorrect dosage, failure in applying the memory test, and so producing a complete instead of a semi-narcosis. Early failures were due to an unstable drug, but this difficulty has now been

\* "Painless Childbirth in Twilight Sleep." By Hanna Rion. (London: T. Werner Laurie. 6s. net.)

completely surmounted. It is significant that the greatest opposition to Twilight Sleep came from the Church, and hardly less from certain men in the medical profession.

K. M. R.

### "WAR BABIES"

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors,—Your correspondent "Student's" (see VOTES FOR WOMEN, June 4) letter raises a side issue with which I did not attempt to deal, but I think if he will refer to my previous letter he will find that I admitted that there is another side to this question, and that on it women will be "sharply divided."

The point, however, which I desired to bring before Suffragists is the extreme importance of standing out for the highest and best of which mankind is capable. Is "Student" satisfied with the results of a material civilisation such as the present, which has fostered and encouraged, if not produced, the most serious evils—the White Slave Traffic and assaults on children amongst others? It is these evils of which Suffragists complain, and which they are out to remedy if they get the vote; evils which usually inflict far greater suffering upon women than upon men.

There is no progress without moral progress, and the result of the spurious civilisation which now obtains, in which this quality is conspicuously absent, has been a disastrous failure, and it is now being finally destroyed in this terrible war, and it will be the business of Suffragists, after it is over, to obtain the vote in order to build up one far higher, purer, and more enduring. I regard "Student's" advice to Suffragists—"to beware of too much spirituality"—as dangerous, and believe that if followed it would injure their cause. Spirituality makes for progress, and the entrance of the more spiritual half of the nation into its councils can only be for the good of the race.

The greatest medical and scientific authorities of the day have pointed out the falsity of the belief that purity and self-restraint make for anything but a stronger and more virile race. It is because I so firmly believe that the introduction through the enfranchisement of women of greater spirituality and higher ideals into the life of the people will remove many of the evils now existing that I call upon all Suffragists to uphold the highest standard of morality, and as long as they stand firm on this question I have unlimited faith in their ability to bring about a better and purer civilisation than the world has ever yet known.

Yours, &c.,

CHARLOTTE E. IRELAND.



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## COMPARISON OF PUNISHMENTS

LIGHT SENTENCES  
III-treating a Wife

The *Morning Advertiser* (June 14) reports case of a husband charged at the West Ham Police Court with assaulting his wife. The woman had her right arm in a sling, and was stated to be afraid of her husband, who was "a most violent fellow." She asked for the charge to be withdrawn.

Sentence: *Banned over to keep the peace for six months.*

## HEAVY SENTENCES

## Theft

The *Warwickshire Advertiser* (March 13) reports case of a seaman charged at the Warwickshire Assizes with breaking into a shop and stealing thirty-eight silver watches and other articles. He had previously been convicted twice for breaking into the same shop.

Sentence: *Three years' penal servitude.*

Miss Bensusan, 2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.

The Women's Freedom League will hold a public meeting at the Fabian Hall, 25, Tothill Street, Westminster, on Wednesday, June 23, at 3.30 p.m. Speakers: The Rev. C. Warlow and Miss Nina Boyle.

## SOMETHING TO KNOW

An antiseptic and cleansing hair food is a great boon to those who find their hair to be losing its former luxuriance and showing a tendency to become weak and thin. Lack of nourishment is said to be the cause for the withering and drying up of the roots, and here is an instance where Nature needs assistance from some suitable hair food, her own power of supplying nutriment to the roots having either been interrupted or suspended. On application to the Tozana Perfumery Co., Ltd., Tozana House, King's Cross, W.C., a trial bottle of hair food and a little book, giving much useful information relating to the care of the hair, may be secured.

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## COMING EVENTS

The United Suffragists will hold a public meeting in the small Portman Rooms, Baker Street, on Thursday, June 17 and 24. (See page 306.)

Under the auspices of the United Suffragists Mr. John Scarr will deliver Lecture 3 on "The Theory and Practice of Politics in England to-day," at the Suffrage Club. (See page 306.)

The Woman's Theatre, under the direction of the Actresses' Franchise League, are holding four War Relief Matinées at the London Pavilion on June 21, 22, 24, and 25, at 2.30 p.m. All particulars can be obtained from

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### SPECIAL ANNOUNCEMENTS

**THE WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE** holds public meetings at the Fabian Hall, 25, Tothill Street, Westminster, each Wednesday afternoon at 3.30. Speakers: June 23: Rev. C. Warlow. Subject: "The Spiritual Significance of the War." Miss Nina Bayle. Admission free.

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